

South Asia

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
17 December 1971

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

India-Pakistan Situation Report
(As of 1430 EST)

Post-Cease-Fire Military Activities

1. Fighting on the western front continued almost up to the start of today's 0900 EST cease-fire, with each side apparently hoping to gain as much territory as possible before the war ended. Word that the fighting had stopped in the west came from Pakistani General Candeth at his headquarters in Jullundur. The US consul in Lahore reported, however, that steady artillery fire was audible 2 1/2 hours after the cease-fire. According to the Indian press, India holds about 1,400 square miles of West Pakistan to Pakistan's sixty square miles of Indian territory.

2. Following the cease-fire in 1965, there were a number of serious violations by each side, including air strikes. These violations gradually diminished in both intensity and frequency, and subsided after a few weeks to the normal condition of occasional clashes between patrols along the border.

3. The press reports that Dacca is in a carnival mood, despite scattered street fighting and attacks by Bengali mobs on non-Bengali minority groups and other collaborators. Indian officers and local Mukti Bahini leaders are trying to restore order, but there are pockets of Pakistani soldiers unable or unwilling to surrender. Senior

NLNP
Mandatory Review

Case NLN 80-07

Doc. 26 6 pages

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Indian Army officers are aware that they have been unable to prevent revenge killing but appear reluctant to impose a curfew.

4. US officials in Dacca report that roving bands of Mukti Bahini have been seen around the US consulate this afternoon, seeking out West Pakistanis for revenge. So far the violence, which is random and disorganized, has not been directed against the consulate. In relative terms, however, the violence has diminished since the morning hours.

5. Indian Commander Aurora said today that he had allowed thousands of Pakistani soldiers who surrendered to him yesterday in East Pakistan to keep their arms for their own protection. Local resentment towards the Pakistani Army was so great, he said, that the Pakistanis "would have been butchered otherwise."

6. Charges of cease-fire violations have already begun; the commander of India's eastern forces said today that some Pakistani soldiers in outlying areas apparently had not received instructions from their headquarters in Dacca and were still fighting. These included, he said, units at Khulna, 90 miles southeast of Dacca, and near Sylhet and Comilla in the north and east.

7. Official sources in New Delhi said today that India has suffered more than 10,000 casualties in the war on both fronts--2,307 killed, 6,163 wounded, and 2,163 missing. Of these 1,021 were killed in the east and 1,286 in the west. There have been no figures from Islamabad, but Pakistani losses are generally thought to be much higher.

In India

8. Prime Minister Gandhi apparently overcame strong "hawkish" sentiment both in the opposition and within her own party in order to arrange for the cease-fire.

many parliament members are not happy with her offer of a cease-fire on

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the western front. Although publicly loyal to Mrs. Gandhi, privately most of her party would have preferred India to add to its territory at the expense of West Pakistan, particularly in Azad Kashmir and Lahore.

9. Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram, when criticized for the cease-fire offer, asserted that the Prime Minister "was responsible for that." However, he appeared reluctant to take a line in opposition to Mrs. Gandhi and when the would-be dissenters brought up the subject of Azad Kashmir, he told them, "enough is enough." For her part, Mrs. Gandhi has told opposition leaders that there are no conditions on the cease-fire and the status of any areas conquered would be subject to discussion at the peace table. If Pakistan does not agree with India's stand during those discussions, she said that the fight would continue. Although some additional saber rattling cannot be ruled out, it is doubtful that India would re-open major hostilities. Mrs. Gandhi was attempting to mollify hostile opposition leaders and it is likely that she does not anticipate the need to make good on her words.

10. In a conversation with the US Defense Attache [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] labeled rumors that the Soviets were manning certain equipment in India as "sheer nonsense." He further stated that he would not permit a single foreigner to operate a single piece of equipment in India. "If our men have to be trained on a piece of equipment, I will send them there to be trained," he said.

Reaction to the Cease-Fire in Pakistan

Pakistan

11. A small People's Party demonstration against Yahya, General Niazi, and the cease-fire took place today in Peshawar. The Northwest Frontier provided large numbers of personnel to West Pakistan forces in the east and the loss of East Pakistan will probably result in greater bitterness in this region than in other areas of

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West Pakistan. Even in the rest of West Pakistan, reaction to Yahya's acceptance of a cease-fire has been negative, and there has been a great deal of criticism of his leadership.

12. The US Embassy in Islamabad reports that there has been continued appreciation for US support to Pakistan and indications of disappointment over the Chinese failure to do more. The embassy has already heard a few reports, however, suggesting that the US had "restrained" Pakistan from all-out fighting in the west and had "imposed" acceptance of a cease-fire.

13. US officials in Islamabad report that the Pakistani Army is less than happy with its performance in the west. A senior Pakistani officer said he thought the majority of officers would have preferred to fight on rather than accept India's ultimatum. [REDACTED]

that Yahya was finished after this debacle as 80 percent of the officers would no longer back him. There is apparently a belief among the military and a large part of the poorer classes that Yahya should have committed suicide after making his speech yesterday.

14. No US official has reported seeing Yahya for several days. Foreign Secretary Sultan Khan handed a copy of Yahya's statement to Ambassador Farland prior to the President's address to the nation. Sultan Khan said that Yahya had arrived at a firm position concerning the cease-fire; no other mention of the President was made during the interview which lasted approximately 10 minutes.

15. Leaders of Deputy Prime Minister designate Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in Lahore have told the US consul that Bhutto may not wish to take power under President Yahya because serving under him might be too much of a political liability. According to Mobasher Hassan, the local PPP chairman, the party will come out in opposition to the cease-fire, thus identifying with the common man.

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Apparently, one objective of Bhutto's speech and walk-out of 15 December at the UN Security Council was to set him apart from Yahya's regime and policies.

16. Hassan expressed doubt that the security forces in Lahore would be able to impose law and order should trouble erupt. Hassan said that the man on the street had not been psychologically prepared to accept defeat and would look for scapegoats. He ranked likely objects of public wrath as: 1) Yahya; 2) the USSR; 3) China; 4) the US; and 5) Bhutto.

More on Kuznetsov's Conversations

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Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov encouraged the Indians to confine their objectives to East Pakistan. He advised them not to try to take any part of West Pakistan, including Azad Kashmir. Kuznetsov indicated Moscow was concerned about the possibility of a great power confrontation over the subcontinent and feared the longer the war lasted the greater was the risk.

18. Although some of Moscow's Eastern European allies are already referring to the government of Bangla Dosh, the bulk of reporting continues to suggest that Moscow will move cautiously regarding recognition. The Soviets are concerned about their international image and would prefer to wait until some country such as Britain or France appeared ready to recognize.

At the UN

19. The UN Security Council is scheduled to reconvene shortly, having been delayed once again today by intensive private consultations on the several drafts--eight at last report--still before the Council. Most prominent among these texts are rival drafts backed by the US and the USSR. The US-supported proposal calls for a durable all-fronts cease-fire to remain in effect until troop

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withdrawals are implemented. The Soviet alternative, among other things, calls for an immediate transfer of political power in the east. As hostilities near an end, the Council finally may be able to take action, but language on political prospects for East Pakistan may still prove non-negotiable.

20. The head of the UN relief operations in East Pakistan, evacuated from Dacca on 12 December, has told the US he thinks there may soon be a very serious food shortage. He believes a mass relief program will be essential in East Pakistan once peace is fully restored. Acknowledging that the UN's need to work through the Yahya Khan government before the war began had posed "understandable" problems for relations with Bangla Desh officials, he nevertheless considered the UN teams the best equipped to move quickly. The UN official agreed with the US consulate at Calcutta that the voluntary agencies--Red Cross, CARE, etc.--are generally in good standing with all parties and could be very useful.

This is the last scheduled situation report to be issued on 17 December. The next scheduled reports will be issued at 1500 on 18 December and 0900 on 19 December. Special situation reports may be issued at any time.

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